DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 413 977 PS 024 150

AUTHOR Pruchno, Rachel
TITLE Grandparents in American Society: Review of Recent Literature.
INSTITUTION National Inst. on Aging (DHHS/NIH), Bethesda, MD.
PUB DATE 1995-09-00
NOTE 31p.
PUB TYPE Information Analyses (070)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Adults; Demography; Divorce; Family Structure; Grandchildren; *Grandparents; Legal Problems; Legal Responsibility; Literature Reviews; Research Needs; *Role Perception; Social Change; Well Being
IDENTIFIERS *Grandparent Grandchild Relationship; *Grandparent Responsibility; Grandparents as Parents; Great Grandparents; Visitation Rights

ABSTRACT

This paper examines recent research on grandparents in American society. The review begins with a description of two key demographic changes that have altered the nature of grandparenthood: increased life expectancy and new rhythms in the family life cycle. Variations in the grandparent role are then discussed, including the development of typologies, the ambiguous nature and large variance in form and function, and social and legal rights and obligations. Research on the roles of grandparents with young grandchildren, including the impact of gaps in the nuclear family, such as divorce, death, or incarceration is summarized. The increasing role of grandmothers as surrogate parents and the accompanying problems are also discussed. The paper highlights the impact of grandparents on their grandchildren's lives, and the discrepant findings regarding the relationship of grandparents and adult grandchildren are also noted. The role played by the parental generation in mediating the grandparent-grandchild relationship is then described, including the impact on emotional closeness, the effect of divorce in the parent generation and the role of custody, and issues related to grandparent visitation and legal rights. Factors related to grandparents' psychological well-being, including satisfaction with the role and its relationship to broader life issues and the impact of gender, ethnicity, and social class on the grandparent role is also examined. The paper concludes with brief implications the great-grandparent role. Contains a 135-item bibliography. (KB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 413 977

NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON AGING

GRANDPARENTS IN AMERICAN SOCIETY: REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

Prepared by:
Rachel Pruchno, Ph.D.
Myers Research Institute of Menorah Park Center for the Aging
Beachwood, OH

September 1995

The attached bibliography was prepared with support from the National Institute on Aging, Behavioral and Social Research program to Dr. Rachel Pruchno, Myers Research Institute of Menorah Park Center for the Aging. Two other NIA-funded researchers have contributed to this summary of grandparenting studies, Dr. Merril Silverstein (University of Southern California, Andrus Gerontology Center, Los Angeles, CA) and Dr. Sandra Litvin (Philadelphia Geriatric Center, Philadelphia, PA). The NIA extends our appreciation to all involved in this effort. The views in this paper, however, are solely those of the author and are intended to guide prospective grant applicants and others interested in research on the topic of grandparenting.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Sidney M. Stahl
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

For more information contact:
Katrina W. Johnson, Ph.D.
Behavioral and Social Research Program
National Institute on Aging
Gateway Bldg, Suite 533
Bethesda, MD 20892

Telephone: (301) 402-4156; Fax: (301) 402-0051; Email: Katrina_Johnson@NIH.GOV

PS 024150

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Demographics of Grandparents

Today there is an unprecedented number of people in American society who are grandparents. Treas and Bengtson (1982) suggest that two key demographic changes have altered the nature of grandparenthood in our society: (1) increased life expectancy and (2) new rhythms in the family life cycle. Changes in mortality and fertility have resulted in more people experiencing grandparenthood than ever before, with 94% of all older adults with children also becoming grandparents (Hooyman & Kiyak, 1988), and nearly 50% becoming greatgrandparents (Roberto & Stroes, 1992).

Grandparents range in age from 30 to 110. As the median age of entrance to the grandparent role has remained constant over the past century at 45 years (Hagestad, 1985), gains in life expectancy have resulted in grandparents spending many more years in the grandparent role now than ever before. It is no longer uncommon for women to be grandmothers for more than four decades (Hagestad, 1988), and today's children can expect to spend nearly one-half of their lives as grandparents (Barranti, 1985).

Aldous (1995) laments that presently not enough is known about the sheer number of grandparents in the United States or their age, gender, and social composition. One recent estimate places nearly half of grandparents at less than age 60, with one-third less than age 55. Only one-fifth may be age 70 or older (Schwartz & Waldrop, 1992). If this estimate is correct, it suggests that many people who are grandparents are still busy rearing their own children and are active in the work world; dispelling the image of the grandparent who is frail, and dependent.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Becoming a Grandparent

The passage to grandparenthood has been called a "countertransition" because it is brought about by the transition of another family member (Hagestad & Neugarten, 1985). While the specifics of this countertransition have received little attention in the research literature, it has been suggested that the timing of grandparenthood influences the grandparent's perception of this event (Burton & Bengtson, 1985; Hagestad & Burton, 1986; Hagestad & Lang, 1986). Consequently, the expectations and responsibilities that go along with this newly ascribed status are altered.

Grandparent Roles

Grandparenthood is an important part of the life cycle, and has a profound effect on family life, yet an analysis of original publications regarding grandparents revealed very few publications focusing on grandparenthood (about 14 from 1950 to 1960; and 17 in 1970) (Smith, 1991). Despite the growing numbers of grandparents in American society, grandparenthood remains a neglected topic of research.

Early research on the grandparent role indicated that most grandparents enjoy their grandchildren and take pride in their accomplishments (Albrecht, 1954; Kahana & Kahana, 1970). Grandparents in these studies endorsed a "pleasure without responsibility" orientation toward the role of grandparent. During the 1960's and 70's, typologies of grandparents were developed to describe various styles of grandparent-grandchild relationships (Neugarten & Weinstein, 1964; Robertson, 1977), and hypotheses were developed to account for differences in role type.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The increase in research about the role of grandparenthood in the 1980's was largely due to an awareness of demographic trends: specifically, that more people were becoming grandparents for longer periods of time and having considerable influence, either directly or indirectly on the lives of their grandchildren (Tinsley & Parke, 1984). Research published during the past 15 years points to the diversity of grandparents and their behavior (Bengtson, 1985). Robertson (1995) has identified approximately 25 citations since 1985, but notes that the state of the art remains tentative, incomplete, and contradictory. Although biologically determined, Troll (1983) describes grandparenthood as a derived status only weakly regulated by social norms. As such, grandparent roles are noteworthy for their ambiguity and the large variance in both their form and function (See Bengtson & Robertson, 1985; Rosow, 1976; Wood, 1982), and it is not at all clear what the social and legal rights and obligations of grandparents are (Bengtson, 1985). Since there are few normatively explicit expectations placed on the role behavior of grandparents, the appropriate type and level of involvement of grandparents are often matters for family negotiation.

Grandparents serve in various symbolic dimensions, including those outlined by Bengtson (1985) as "being there", the "national guard", "arbitrators", "active participants in the family's social construction of its history", and as "surrogate parent". They may also serve as historian, mentor, role model, wizard, or nurturer (Kornhaber & Woodward, 1981). Numerous writers (Baranowski, 1982; Bengtson & Robertson, 1985; Kivnick, 1982a, 1982b; Kornhaber & Woodward, 1981) underscore the reciprocal influence of grandparents on multiple generations. Researchers examining the meaning of grandparenthood (for example, Bengtson & Robertson, 1985; Cherlin & Furstenberg, 1986a, 1986b; Hagestad, 1985; Kivnick, 1981, 1982a, 1982b,

5 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

1984; 1985; Kornhaber, 1985; Tinsley & Parke, 1984; Troll, 1980a, 1980b, 1983; Wood, 1982) have noted that they function as general role models, models for aging, and as mentors.

One of the frequently disputed questions has been whether grandparenting roles have changed over the course of historical time. Kornhaber (1985) has been among the most vocal critics of what he perceives as a weakening grandparent role. He asserts that grandparents have abdicated their responsibility by "turning their backs" on grandchildren both in terms of emotional investment and practical support (see also Gutmann, 1985). Counter claims have been made, asserting that relations between grandparents and grandchildren remain strong, with both providing high levels of affection, feeling a strong sense of obligation, and providing extensive help to one another (Cherlin & Furstenberg, 1986b; Robertson, 1976). In a rare attempt to compare data over time, Kennedy (1990) found that compared to Robertson's (1976) findings twelve years earlier, contemporary young adult grandchildren were more likely than their earlier counterparts to turn to grandparents for advice and financial support.

Grandparents with young grandchildren

As long as the nuclear family remains intact, grandparents with young grandchildren generally live on the fringe (von Hentig, 1946). They serve as "family watchdogs" (Troll, 1983), ready to step in when trouble emerges. When a gap develops within the nuclear family, such as in the case of a child's divorce, death, adolescent pregnancy, health problems, incarceration, or drug addiction, the role of grandparent often changes dramatically. While in 1964 Neugarten and Weinstein reported that only 10% of the grandmothers they studied played the role of surrogate parent, in 1985 Troll suggested that this style of grandparenting was probably much more common.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Evidence that grandparents are becoming more important in the lives of their young grandchildren comes from the U.S. Bureau of the Census (1991) whose estimates indicate that 3.2 million children under age 18 live with their grandparents (Minkler and Roe 1993). These numbers vary as a function of race, with 12.3% of Black children, and 3.7% of White children living with their grandparents (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1991). Most notable, however, is the increasing number of grandchildren living with their grandparents during the past decade, growing by 24% for Black children and by 54% for White children (Jendrek, 1993, 1994).

That grandparents, especially grandmothers, frequently act as surrogate parent has been documented in the case of divorce (Ahorns & Bowman, 1982; Cherlin & Furstenberg, 1986a; Gladstone, 1988, Johnson, 1985), drug addiction (Burton, 1992; Minkler, 1991; Minkler, Rose, & Price, 1992), and adolescent pregnancy (Burton, 1995; Burton & Bengtson, 1985; Flaherty, Facteau, & Garver, 1987; Furstenberg, 1980; Lander & Gourdine, 1984; Thomas, 1990); yet the phenomenon of grandparents raising grandchildren has only recently attracted the attention of social scientists (Burton, 1992). Although a number of self-help and other local organizations for grandparents have been established (e.g., American Association of Retired Persons Grandparent Information Center), there has been relatively little systematic study of the scope and nature of issues involved.

The literature consistently indicates that grandparents have a positive impact on their grandchildren's lives. Denham and Smith (1989), in their review of the literature suggest that grandparents have both an indirect and direct positive influence on their grandchildren. A recent study by Solomon and Marx (1995) found that children raised solely by their grandparents fared quite well relative to children in families with one biological parent present. Furthermore,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

children raised solely by grandparents were not significantly different, except for academic performance, from children raised in traditional families.

The reports that do exist indicate that grandparents who have parental responsibilities for their grandchildren are beset with a myriad of problems. Shore and Hayslip (1990a, 1990b), for example, found that those grandparents who had assumed parental responsibilities had reduced scores on three out of four measures of psychological well-being, including satisfaction with the grandparent role, perceptions of grandparent-grandchild relationships, and overall well-being. Burton (1992) found that caring for grandchildren generated considerable stress for grandparents, with 86 percent of the 60 grandparents in the study reporting feeling "depressed or anxious most of the time." In a more recent report of these data, Burton and deVries (1993) highlight the rewards as well as challenges associated with surrogate parenting. Recently the legal and economic difficulties experienced by grandparents raising their grandchildren have come to the attention of both social scientists and the press (e.g., Chaloff, 1982; Creighton, 1991; Presser, 1989).

Grandparents and grandchildren aging together

Evidence reveals that it is now more the rule than the exception for grandparents to have at least one grandchild who has reached adulthood. Farkas and Hogan (1994) in a study of intergenerational family structure in seven economically developed nations found that more than half (50.6%) of people age 65 years and older have a grandchild who is at least 18 years old. Similarly, a study conducted in the United States by the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) (Bengtson & Harootyan, 1994) found that 56% of people age 65 and older have at least one adult grandchild.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Studies focusing on changing relationships between grandparents and their grandchildren over time have reported discrepant findings (Langer, 1990). Cross-sectional studies consistently indicate that older grandchildren are less involved with their grandparents than are younger grandchildren (Hodgson, 1992; Johnson, 1983; Kivett, 1991; Sprey & Matthews, 1982; Thomas, 1986a). In a longitudinal study, Field and Minkler (1988) find that frequency of contact with grandchildren declined over a 14-year period. That there was no corresponding decline found in level of satisfaction with grandchildren suggests that growing autonomy may be a normative and accepted change in this relationship over the life-course. In one of the few studies to examine relationships between grandparents and teen-aged grandchildren, Dellmann-Jenkins, Papalia, and Lopez (1987) investigated the extent to which the generations were alienated from one another. These investigators report that over 80% of the teenagers they studied viewed their grandparents as confidantes.

Despite the proliferation of adult grandparent-grandchild relations in the population, little attention has been paid by researchers to these adult relationships. Some researchers have speculated, however, that the grandparent-grandchild bond may be even more significant in adult relations (Hagestad, 1981; Troll, 1980a). As yet, the trajectory or life-course "career" of grandparent-grandchild relationships and the contribution of "successful" grandparenting to quality of life are unclear and remain unexamined. While the changes and trajectories of adult grandchild-grandparent relationships are largely unknown, some research suggests that these relations are characterized more by continuity than by change over the life-course. Retrospective reports by adult children about the degree to which their childhood was influenced by grandparents strongly predict the quality of their contemporary intergenerational relationships

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

(Lawton, Silverstein, & Bengtson, 1994; Matthews & Sprey, 1985). These findings support speculations that the quality of early attachment to a grandparent is sustained into the later adult stages of the relationship (Kornhaber & Woodward, 1981). Recently, work by Hodgson (1995) found that a large proportion of adult grandchildren maintain contact with their closest grandparents on a regular basis, providing evidence that the grandchild/grandparent bond continues with surprising strength into adulthood.

The role of the middle generation

The role played by the parental generation in mediating the grandparent-grandchild relation has received attention in the research (Barranti, 1985; Cohler & Grunebaum, 1980; Hagestad, 1985; King & Elder, 1995; Robertson, 1975; Rossi & Rossi, 1990; Whitbeck, Hoyt, & Huck, 1993). Parents often set the tone for grandparent-grandchild relations in both childhood and adulthood (Kennedy, 1992). Hodgson (1992) found, for example, that greater emotional closeness between parent and grandparent is associated with greater emotional closeness and greater frequency of contact between grandchild and grandparent. Thompson and Walker (1987) found that grandmothers' feelings for their granddaughters were contingent on their feelings toward their own daughters; grandmothers love their granddaughters because grandmothers love their daughters.

When the parent generation divorces, the quality of the grandparent-grandchild relationship may either suffer or strengthen. Divorce may weaken grandparent-grandchild relations on the non-custodial side of the family but strengthen these relations on the custodial side of the family (Bray & Berger, 1990; Clingempeel, Colyar, Brand, & Hetherington, 1992; Creasey, 1993; Funder, 1989; Gladstone, 1989; Hagestad & Smyer, 1982; Johnson, 1985;

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Matthews & Sprey, 1984). If the divorced parent remarries, then step-grandparents may enter a new role with respect to step-grandchildren that is fraught with ambiguous expectations (Cherlin, 1978; Henry, Ceglian, & Ostrander, 1993). Myers and Perrin (1993) found that the greater the investment in the grandparent role, the more distress the grandparent will feel when contact with the grandchildren declines following the parental divorce. Findings from a longitudinal study that followed grandmothers and their divorcing children and grandchildren over 40 months found that most grandmothers provide considerable assistance to both generations in the period following the divorce (Johnson, 1988). In a different approach to the study of the effect of divorce on grandparenting, Johnson and Barer (1987) examined the kinship network of grandmothers three years after the divorce of one of their children.

Recently the issues of grandparent visitation and the rights of grandparents in the context of divorce of the middle generation has generated attention (Burns, 1991; Dunn & Robertson, 1991; McCrimmon & Howell, 1989; Segal, 1992; Wacker, 1995; Zimmerman, 1992). Within the last 15 years legislation has been passed in all 50 states giving grandparents the right to petition the court for legally enforced visitation privileges with their grandchildren (Thompson, Tinsley, Scalora, & Parke, 1989).

Grandparents' psychological well-being

Research on the satisfaction derived from the grandparenting role has taken two separate yet related courses. One focus has examined levels of satisfaction with the role itself, while the other has examined the relationship between grandparenting and broader life satisfaction issues. (Roberto, 1990).

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

In general, most studies find that grandparents feel close to at least one of their grandchildren, and are happy and satisfied with the relationships they have with their grandchildren. Characteristics that have been associated with the psychological well-being of grandparents include: timing of entrance to the role (Burton & Bengtson, 1985), gender (Thomas, 1986b, 1986c), and the salience which the role has for the individual (Kivnick, 1985).

The role of gender

Gender plays a strong role in grandparent-grandchild relations. The "kin-keeper" role that women play in the family is consistent with finding that grandmothers and granddaughters have the closest relationships (Hagestad, 1986; Johnson, 1983; Roberto & Stroes, 1992), and that maternal bridges between the generations produce the most emotionally intimate grandparent-grandchild relationships (Creasey & Koblewski, 1991; Eisenberg, 1988; Hoffman, 1979). While the majority of research has focused on relationships between grandmothers and their grandchildren (e.g., Fischer, 1983; Gladstone, 1989; Kennedy, 1989; Robertson, 1977; Timberlake & Chipungu, 1992), Baranowski (1985), Kivett (1985; 1990; 1991), and Thomas (1994) have examined the role of grandfather. Thomas (1994) reports that grandfatherhood generally has positive effects on men's mental health, but that grandfathers who must take over care of their grandchildren during times of family disruption typically experience considerable distress. One of the few researchers to contrast the experiences of grandmothers and grandfathers is Thomas (1986a, 1986b).

The role of ethnicity and social class

Studies of the grandparent role have included people of ethnic diversity (e.g., Bengtson, Rosenthal, & Burton, 1990), yet they have approached the study of grandparenthood from very

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

different perspectives. While studies of White grandparents have tended to focus on describing different typologies of grandparents and the examining the meaning of the role of grandparents (McCready, 1985; Neugarten & Weinstein, 1964), studies of Black grandparents have focused on grandparents as parent substitutes (Burton, 1992; Burton, Dilworth-Anderson, & de Vries, 1995; Flaherty, Facteau, & Garver, 1987; Minkler & Roe, 1993; Pearson, Hunter, Ensminger, & Kellam., 1990) or on describing the traditional family structure of African-Americans (Burton, 1995; Burton & Dilworth-Anderson, 1991; Dilworth-Anderson, 1992; Wilson, 1984). A study by Schmidt and Padilla (1983) found that Spanish-language compatibility between grandparents and grandchildren predicted the amount of contact between them, underscoring the importance of cultural affinity in structuring intergenerational relations. The salience of the grandparent role in families of Hispanic elderly has been described by Lubben and Becerra (1987) and Markides and Mindel (1987).

Recently studies have begun to contrast the ways in which the grandparent role is experienced across differing ethnic groups. Thomas (1994), contrasting the role of grandfather across ethnic groups, found that grandparenting has a more central role for African American men than for male members of other ethnic groups. Similarly, Kivett (1991) found grandparenthood to be more important among rural Black grandfathers than among rural White grandfathers. Strom, et al. (1995) investigated differences in performance and effectiveness of black and Anglo grandparents.

One of the first studies to investigate the impact of social class on the role of grandparents was conducted by Clavan (1978). Cherlin and Furstenberg (1986b) report small class and ethnic

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

differences among the Whites in their sample, but substantial differences between Black and White grandparents.

Great-grandparents

The growth of four and five generation families has led a few researchers to explore the meaning and roles of great-grandparents in the lives of their families. Wentowski (1985), exploring the perceptions of 19 great-grandmothers found that great-grandmotherhood was significant for symbolic and emotional reasons. Doka and Mertz (1988) identified three aspects of the great-grandparent role, including personal and family renewal, diversion, and a mark of longevity. The vast majority of great-grandparents reported that great-grandparenthood renewed their zeal for life and reaffirmed the continuance of their families. While the role of great-grandparent appeared to have significant meaning in the lives of these individuals, most great-grandparents reported a remote relationship with their great-grandchildren, having only limited and ritualistic contact.

Summary

Grandparents are an integral part of family life. Although entrance to the grandparent role is a marker of aging within American society, it is only within the last half century that people have lived long enough to become grandparents. The grandparent role is an evolving one within the family that changes as a function of characteristics and needs of family members. During the past decade there have been several useful literature summaries describing the grandparent role (Aldous, 1995; Denham & Smith, 1989; Kivett, 1991; Preston, 1984; Ramirez-Barranti, 1985; Tinsley & Parke, 1984; Troll, 1983). The majority of research about grandparents is descriptive, atheoretical, and focused on the impact that grandparents have on

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

younger generations. It relies on convenience samples, and often neglects the roles of gender, age, social class, and ethnicity. Furthermore, as suggested by Werner (1991), the methodological flaws characterizing many of the existing studies place limits on how much they can tell us about the state of grandparents today.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

REFERENCES

Ahrons, C. R., & Bowman, M. E. (1982). Changes in family relationships following divorce of adult child: Grandmother's perceptions. Journal of Divorce, 5, 49-68.

Albrecht, R. (1954). The parental responsibilities of grandparents. Marriage and Family Living, 16, 201-204.

Aldous, J. (1995). New views of grandparents in intergenerational context. Journal of Family Issues, 16(1), 104-122.

Baranowski, M. D. (1982). Grandparent-adolescent relations: Beyond the nuclear family. Adolescence, 17, 575-584.

Baranowski, M. D. (1985). Men as grandfathers. In S. M. Hanson & F. W. Bozet (Eds.), Dimensions of fatherhood (pp. 217-238). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Barranti, C. C. R. (1985). The grandparent/grandchild relationship: Family resource in an era of voluntary bonds. Family Relations, 34, 343-352.

Bengtson, V. L. (1985). Diversity and symbolism in grandparental roles. In V. L. Bengtson & J. F. Robertson (Eds.), Grandparenthood. Sage.

Bengtson, V. L. and Harootyan, R. (Eds.) (1994). Hidden connections: A study of intergenerational linkages in American society. New York: Springer Publishing.

Bengtson, V.L. and Robertson, J. (Eds.) (1985). Grandparenthood. Beverly Hills: Sage Publication.

Bengtson, V. L., Rosenthal, C., & Burton, L. (1990). Families and aging: Diversity and heterogeneity. In R. H. Binstock & L. George (Eds.), Handbook of aging and social sciences (pp. 263-287). (3rd ed.) San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Bray, J. H., & Berger, S. H. (1990). Noncustodial father and paternal grandparent relationships in stepfamilies. Family Relations, 39, 414-419.

Burns, E. M. (1991). Grandparent visitation rights: Is it time for the pendulum to fall? Family Law Quarterly, 25, 60-81.

Burton, L. M. (1992). Black grandparents rearing children of drug-addicted parents: Stressors, outcomes, and social service needs. The Gerontologist, 32, 744-751.

Burton, L. M. (1995). Intergenerational patterns of providing care in African-American families with teenage childbearers: emergent patterns in an ethnographic study. In V. L. Bengtson, K. W. Schaie, & L. M. Burton (Eds.), Adult intergenerational relations: Effects of societal change. (pp. 79-96). New York: Springer Publishing Co.

Burton, L. M., & Bengtson, V. L. (1985). Black grandmothers: Issues on timing and continuity of roles. In L. M. Burton & V. L. Bengtson (Eds.), Grandparenthood. Sage.

Burton, L. M., & deVries, C. (1993). Challenges and rewards: African American grandparents as surrogate parents. In L. Burton (Ed.), Families and aging. Amityville, NY: Baywood Publishing Co.

Burton, L. M., & Dilworth-Anderson, P. (1991). The intergenerational roles of aged black Americans. Marriage and Family Review, 16, 311-330.

Burton, L. M., Dilworth-Anderson, P., & Merriwether-de-Vries, C. (1995). Context and surrogate parenting among contemporary grandparents. Marriage and Family Review, 20(3/4), 349-366.

Chaloff, M. B. (1982). Grandparents' statutory visitation rights and rights of adoptive parents. Brooklyn Law Review, 49, 149-171.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Cherlin, A. J. (1978). Remarriage as an incomplete institution. American Journal of Sociology, 84(3), 634-650.

Cherlin, A. J., & Furstenberg, F. F. (1986a). Grandparents & family crisis. Generations, 10(4), 26-28.

Cherlin, A. J., & Furstenberg, F. F. (1986b). The new American grandparent: A place in the family, a life apart. New York: Basic.

Clavan, S. (1978). The impact of social class and social trends on the role of grandparents. The Family Coordinator, 27, 351-357.

Clingempeel, W. G., Colyar, J. J., Brand, E., & Hetherington, E. M. (1992). Children's relationships with maternal grandparents: A longitudinal study of family structure and pubertal status effects. Child Development, 63, 1404-1422.

Cohler, B. J., & Grunebaum, H. U. (1980). Mothers, grandmothers, and daughters: Personality and childcare in three-generation families. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Creasey, G. L. (1993). The association between divorce and late adolescent grandchildren's relations with grandparents. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 22(5), 513-529.

Creasey, G. L., & Koblewski, P. J. (1991). Adolescent grandchildren's relationships with maternal and paternal grandmothers and grandfathers. Journal of Adolescence, 14, 373-387.

Creighton, L. L. (1991). The silent saviors. U S News and World Report, (December 16), 80-89.

Dellman-Jenkins, M., Papalia, D., & Lopez, M. (1987). Teenagers' reported interaction with grandparents: Exploring the extent of alienation. Lifestyles: A Journal of Changing Patterns, 3-4, 35-46.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Denham, T. E., & Smith, C. W. (1989). The influence of grandparents on grandchildren: A review of the literature and resources. Family Relations, 38, 345-350.

Dilworth-Anderson, P. (1992). Extended kin networks in black families. Generations, (Summer), 29-32.

Doka, K.J., & Mertz, M.E. (1988). The meaning and significance of great-grandparenthood. The Gerontologist, 28, 192-197.

Dunn, E., & Robertson, J. F. (1991). Testimony presented at hearing before the Subcommittee on Human Services of the Select Committee on Aging, U.S. House of Representatives. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, School of Social Work.

Eisenberg, A. R. (1988). Grandchildren's perspectives on relationships with grandparents: The influence of gender across generations. Sex Roles, 19(3/4), 205-217.

Farkas, J. I., & Hogan, D. P. (1994). The demography of changing intergenerational relationships. In V. L. Bengtson, K. W. Schaie, & L. Burton (Eds.), Adult intergenerational relations: Effects of societal change. (pp. 1-19). New York, NY: Springer Publishing.

Field, D., & Minkler, M. (1988). Continuity and change in social support between young-old and old-old or very-old age. Journal of Gerontology, 43(4), P100-106.

Fischer, L. (1983). Transitions to grandmotherhood. International Journal of Aging and Human Development, 9, 293-299.

Flaherty, Sr., Facteau, L., & Garver, P. (1987). Grandmother functions in multigenerational families: An exploratory study of Black adolescent mothers and their infants. Maternal Child Nursing Journal, 16, 61-73.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Funder, K. (1989). Grandparents in children's post-divorce families. Family Matters (Australia), 25, 47-49.

Furstenberg, F. F. (1980). Burdens and benefits: The impact of early childbearing on the family. Journal of Social Issues, 36, 64-87.

Gladstone, J. W. (1988). Perceived changes in grandmother-grandchild relations following a child's separation or divorce. The Gerontologist, 28, 66-72.

Gladstone, J. W. (1989). Grandmother-grandchild contact: The mediating influence of the middle generation following marriage breakdown and remarriage. Canadian Journal on Aging, 8, 355-365.

Gutmann, D. L. (1985). Deculturation and the American grandparent. In V. L. Bengtson & J. F. Robertson (Eds.), Grandparenthood. (pp. 173-181). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Hagestad, G. O. (1981). Problems and promises in the social psychology of intergenerational relations. In R. Vogel, E. Hatfield, S. Kiesler, & E. Shanas (Eds.), Aging: Stability and change in the family. (pp. 11-47). New York, NY: Academic.

Hagestad, G. O. (1985). Continuity and connectedness. In V. L. Bengtson & J. F. Robertson (Eds.), Grandparenthood. Sage.

Hagestad, G. O. (1986). The family: Women and grandparents as kin-keepers. In A. Pifer & L. Broute (Eds.), Our aging society. N.Y.: Norton.

Hagestad, G. O. (1988). Demographic change and the life course: Some emerging trends in the family realm. Family Relations, 37, 405-410.

Hagestad, G. O., & Burton, L. M. (1986). Grandparenthood, life context, and family development. American Behavioral Scientist, 29, 471-484.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Hagestad, G.O., & Lang, M. (1986). The transition to grandparenthood: Unexplored issues. Journal of Family Issues, 7, 115-130.

Hagestad, G.O., & Neugarten, B. (1985). Age and life course. In E. Shanas & R. Binstock (Eds.), Handbook of aging and the social sciences. (pp. 35-55). New York, NY: Van Norstrand and Reinhold.

Hagestad, G. O., & Smyer, M. A. (1982). Dissolving long-term relationships: Patterns of divorce in middle age. In S. Duck (Ed.), Dissolving personal relationships. London: Academic Press.

Henry, C. S., Ceglian, C. P., & Ostrander, D. L. (1993). The transition to step-grandparenthood. Journal of Divorce and Remarriage, 19, 25-44.

Hodgson, L. G. (1992). Adult grandchildren and their grandparents: The enduring bond. International Journal of Aging and Human Development, 34, 209-225.

Hodgson, L. G. (1995). Adult grandchildren and their grandparents: The enduring bond. In J. Hendrick (Ed.), The ties of later life. (pp. 155-170). Amityville, NY: Baywood.

Hoffman, E. (1979). Young adults' relations with their grandparents: An exploratory study. International Journal of Aging and Human Development, 10, 299-310.

Hooyman, N., & Kiyak, H. A. (1988). Social gerontology: A multidisciplinary perspective. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Jendrek, M. P. (1993). Grandparents who parent their grandchildren: Effects on lifestyle. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 55, 609-621.

Jendrek, M. P. (1994). Grandparents who parent their grandchildren: Circumstances and decisions. The Gerontologist, 34(2), 206-216.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Johnson, C.L. (1983). A cultural analysis of the grandmother. Research on Aging, 5, 547-568.

Johnson, C. L. (1985). Grandparenting options in divorcing families: An anthropological perspective. In V. L. Bengtson & J. F. Robertson (Eds.), Grandparenthood. (pp. 81-96). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Johnson, C. L. (1988). Active and latent functions of grandparenting during the divorce process. The Gerontologist, 28, 185-191.

Johnson, C.L., & Barer, B. (1987). Marital instability and the changing kinship network of grandparents. The Gerontologist, 27, 330-335.

Kahana, B., & Kahana, E. (1970). Grandparenthood from the perspective of the developing grandchild. Developmental Psychology, 3, 98-105.

Kennedy, G. E. (1989). College students' relationship with grandparents. Psychological Reports, 64, 477-478.

Kennedy, G. E. (1990). College students' expectations of grandparent and grandchild role behaviors. The Gerontologist, 30(1), 43-48.

Kennedy, G. E. (1992). Quality in grandparent/grandchild relationships. International Journal of Aging and Human Development, 35(2), 83-98.

King, V., & Elder, G. H.,Jr. (1995). American children view their grandparents: Linked lives across three rural generations. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 57(1), 165-177.

Kivett, V. R. (1985). Grandfathers and grandchildren: Patterns of association, helping, and psychological closeness. Family Relations, 34, 565-571.

Kivett, V. R. (1990). Centrality of the grandfather role among older rural black and white men. Journal of Gerontology, 46, S250-S259.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Kivett, V. R. (1991). The grandparent-grandchild connection. Marriage and Family Review, 16, 267-290.

Kivnick, H. Q. (1981). Grandparenthood and the mental health of grandparents. Aging and Society, 1, 365-391.

Kivnick, H. Q. (1982a). The meaning of grandparenthood. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Research Press.

Kivnick, H. Q. (1982b). Grandparenthood: An overview of meaning and mental health. The Gerontologist, 22, 59-66.

Kivnick, H.Q. (1984). Grandparents and family relations. In W. Quinn & G. Hughston (Eds.), Independent aging: Family and social systems perspectives. (pp. 35-57). Rockville, MD: Aspen Systems Corp.

Kivnick, H. Q. (1985). Grandparenthood and mental health: Meaning, behavior, and satisfaction. In V. L. Bengtson & J. F. Robertson (Eds.), Grandparenthood. (pp. 151-158). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Kornhaber, A. (1985). Grandparenthood and the "new social contract". In V. L. Bengtson & J. F. Robertson (Eds.), Grandparenthood. (pp. 159-172). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Kornhaber, A., & Woodward, R. (1981). Grandparents/grandchildren: The vital connection. New York: Doubleday.

Ladner, J., & Gourdine, R. (1984). Intergenerational teenage motherhood: Some preliminary findings. A Scholarly Journal of Black Women, 1(2), 22-24.

Langer, N. (1990). Grandparents and their adult children: What they do for one another. International Journal of Aging and Human Development, 31, 101-110.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Lawton, L., Silverstein, M., & Bengtson, V. L. (1994). Affection, social contact, and geographic distance between adult children and their parents. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 56, 57-68.

Lubben, J. E., & Becerra, R. M. (1987). Social support among Black, Mexican, and Chinese elderly. In D. E. Gelfand & C. H. Barresi (Eds.), Ethnic dimensions of aging. (pp. 130-144). New York, CA: Springer Publishing.

Markides, K. S., & Mindel, C. H. (1987). Aging and ethnicity. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Mathews, S. H., & Sprey, J. (1984). The impact of divorce on grandparenthood: An exploratory study. The Gerontologist, 24(1), 41-47.

Mathews, S. H., & Sprey, J. (1985). Adolescents' relationships with grandparents: An empirical contribution to conceptual clarification. Journal of Gerontology, 40(5), 621-626.

McCready, W. C. (1985). Styles of grandparenting among white ethnics. In V. L. Bengtson & J. F. Robertson (Eds.), Grandparenthood. Sage.

McCrimmon, C. A., & Howell, R. J. (1989). Grandparents' legal rights to visitation in the fifty states and the District of Columbia. Bulletin Academy Psychiatry Law, 17, 355-366.

Minkler, M. (1991). Health and social consequences of grandparent caregiving. San Francisco: Paper presented at Gerontological Society of America.

Minkler, M., & Roe, K. M. (1993). Grandmothers as caregivers: Raising children of the crack cocaine epidemic. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Minkler, M., Rose, K., & Price, M. (1992). The physical and emotional health of grandmothers raising grandchildren in the crack cocaine epidemic. The Gerontologist, 32, 752-760.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Myers, J. E., & Perrin, N. (1993). Grandparents affected by parental divorce: A population at risk? Journal of Counseling & Development, 72, 62-66.

Neugarten, B. L., & Weinstein, K. (1964). The changing American grandparents. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 26, 199-204.

Pearson, J.L., Hunter, A.G., Ensminger, M.E., & Kellam, S.G. (1990). Black grandmothers in multigenerational households: Diversity in family structure and parenting involvement in the Woodlawn community. Child Development, 61, 434-442.

Presser, H. B. (1989). Some economic complexities of child care provided by grandmothers. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 51, 581-591.

Preston, S. H. (1984). Children and the elderly in the U.S. Scientific American, 251, 44-49.

Ramirez-Barranti, C. C. (1985). The grandparent/grandchild relationship: Family resource in an era of voluntary bonds. Family Relations, 34, 343-352.

Roberto, K. A. (1990). Grandparent and grandchild relationships. In T. H. Brubaker (Ed.), Family relationships in later life. (pp. 100-112). (2nd ed.) Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Roberto, K. A., & Stroes, J. (1992). Grandchildren and grandparents: Roles, influences, and relationships. International Journal of Aging and Human Development, 34, 227-239.

Robertson, J. F. (1975). Interaction in three generation families, parents as mediators: Toward a theoretical perspective. International Journal of Aging and Human Development, 6, 103-110.

Robertson, J. F. (1976). Significance of grandparents: Perceptions of young grandchildren. The Gerontologist, 16(2), 137-140.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Robertson, J. F. (1977). Grandmotherhood: A study of role conceptions. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 39(1), 165-174.

Robertson, J. F. (1995). Grandparenting in an era of rapid change. In R. Blieszner & V. Bedford Hilkevitch (Eds.), Handbook of Aging and the Family. (pp. 243-260). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Rosow, I. (1976). Status and role change through the life span. In: R. H. Binstock & E. Shanas (Eds.), Handbook of aging and the social sciences. N.Y.: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Rossi, A.S., & Rossi, P.H. (1990). Of human bonding: Parent-child relations across the life course. N.Y.: Aldine de Gruyter.

Schmidt, A., & Padilla, A. M. (1983). Grandparent-grandchild interaction in a Mexican American group. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 5(2), 181-198.

Schwartz, J., & Waldrop, J. (1992). The growing importance of grandparents. American Demographics, 14, 10-11.

Segal, C. (1992). Court hears grandparents. Wisconsin State Journal, 6.

Shore, R. J., & Hayslip, Jr. (1990a). Comparisons of custodial and noncustodial grandparents. Boston (a): Paper presented at Gerontological Society of America.

Shore, R. J., & Hayslip, J. B. (1990b). Predictors of well-being in custodial and noncustodial grandparents. Boston (b): Paper presented at American Psychology Association.

Smith, P. K. (1991). The psychology of grandparenthood: An international perspective. London: Routledge.

Solomon, J. C., & Marx, J. (1995). "To Grandmother's House We Go": Health and school adjustment of children raised solely by grandparents. The Gerontologist, 35(3), 386-394.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Sprey, J., & Matthews, S. H. (1982). Contemporary grandparenthood: A systemic transition. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, 464, 91-103.

Strom, R., & et al. (1995). Strengths and needs of black grandparents. In J. Henricks (Ed.), The ties of later life. (pp. 195-207). Amityville, NY: Baywood.

Thomas, J. (1986a). Age and sex differences in perceptions of grandparenting. Journal of Gerontology, 41, 417-423.

Thomas, J. (1986b). Gender differences in satisfaction with grandparenting. Psychology and Aging, 1, 215-219.

Thomas, J. L. (1986c). Gender differences in satisfaction with grandparenting. Psychology and Aging, 1, 215-219.

Thomas, J. L. (1990). The grandparent role: A double bind. International Journal of Aging and Human Development, 31, 169-171.

Thomas, J. L. (1994). Older men as fathers and grandfathers. In E. H. Thompson,Jr. (Ed.), Older men's lives. (pp. 197-217). Vol.6. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Thompson, L., & Walker, A. (1987). Mothers as mediators of intimacy between grandmothers and their young adult granddaughters. Family Relations, 36, 72-77.

Thompson, R. A., Tinsley, B. R., Scalora, J. J., & Parke, R. D. (1989). Grandparents' visitation rights: Legalizing the tie that binds. American Psychologist, 44, 1217-1222.

Timberlake, E. M., & Chipungu, S. S. (1992). Grandmotherhood: Contemporary meaning among African American middle-class grandmothers. Social Work, 37(3), 216-222.

Tinsley, B. R., & Parke, R. D. (1984). Grandparents as support and socializing agents. In M. Lewis (Ed.), Beyond the dyad. New York, NY: Plenum.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Treas, J., & Bengtson, V. L. (1982). The demography of middle and late-life transitions. Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 464, 11-21.

Troll, L. E. (1980a). Intergenerational relations in later life: A family systems approach. In N. Datan & N. Lohmann (Eds.), Transitions of aging. (pp. 75-91). New York, NY: Academic Press, Inc.

Troll, L. E. (1980b). Grandparenting. In L. W. Poon (Ed.), Aging in the 1980's. (pp. 475-481). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, Inc.

Troll, L. (1983). Grandparents: The family watchdogs. In T. H. Brubaker (Ed.), Family relationships in later life. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Troll, L. E. (1985). The contingencies of grandparenting. In V. L. Bengtson & J. F. Robertson (Eds.), Grandparenthood. (pp. 135-149). Bevery Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

U.S.Bureau of the Census. (1991). Current population reports: Marital status and living arrangements: March 1990. Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office.

Von Hentig, H. (1946). The sociological function of the grandmother. Social Forces, 24, 389-392.

Wacker, R. R. (1995). Legal issues and family involvement in later-life families. In R. Blieszner & V. Bedford Hilkevitch (Eds.), Handbook of Aging and the Family. (pp. 284-306). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Wentowski, G. (1985). Older women's perceptions of great-grandmotherhood: A research note. The Gerontologist, 25(6), 593-596.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Werner, E. E. (1991). Grandparent-grandchild relationships amongst U.S. ethnic groups. In P. K. Smith (Ed.), The psychology of grandparenthood: An international perspective. (pp. 68-82). London: Routledge.

Whitbeck, L. B., Hoyt, D. R., & Huck, S. M. (1993). Family relationship history, contemporary parent-grandparent relationship quality, and the grandparent-grandchild relationship. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 55, 1025-1035.

Wilson, M. (1984). Mothers and grandmothers perceptions of parental behavior in three-generational Black families. Child Development, 55, 1333-1339.

Wood, V. (1982). Grandparenthood: An ambiguous role. Generations, Winter, 18-24.

Zimmerman, S. L. (1992). Family policies and family well being. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

GRANDPARENTING: SOME FACTS THAT YOU MAY NOT KNOW

You probably have more relatives older and younger than in your age group.

One of the consequences of population aging in the 20th cent. has been the rise of what has been called the "beanpole" family, meaning that there are often 3,4 even 5 generations in a family, but with fewer members in each generation. Consequently, now there may be more between-generation adult kin in a family than within-generation kin.

Most people will live to be grandparents.

Today, more than 3/4 of adults can expect to become a grandparent (remember, some individuals will not have children.) Of older people with children, 94% are grandparents and nearly 50% are great-grandparents.

Grandchildren are not all "children".

Fewer than half the adolescents living in 1900 had two or more grandparents alive, by 1976 that figure was 90%. But families age together and 56% of people over age 65 have at least one grandchild who is an adult.

Grandmother power is growing.

Women now may expect to spend as long as 50% of their lives as a grandparent. Not only because of women's longer life expectancy, but because historically women have been the "kin-keepers" within each family, the maternal bridge between generations is still seen as the most emotionally intimate between grandparent-grandchild.

"Extended families" are not old-fashioned.

The U.S. Bureau of the Census (1991) estimates that 3.2 million children under age 18 live with their grandparents or other relatives. These figures refer to homes maintained by grandparents and do not include grandchildren whose parents maintain the home, even though a grandparent lives with them.

And race DOES matter.

The numbers of these co-resident grandparents differ by race with 12.3% of Black children and 3.7 % of White children living with their grandparents. Yet, the increase in number of grandchildren living with grandparents has been 2 times larger among White families than Black.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

You can't tell a grandparent by age.

Grandparenting is no longer an age-associated event. Grandparents --even first time grandparents--may range in age from 30 to 110 and the grandchild may be as young as a newborn or a retiree! This means that what grandparents do and how they interact with grandchildren is equally diverse. Approximately 70% of middle-aged people become grandparents at around age 50. However, some of the most interesting issues in grandparenting relate to those individuals who are not in this group. They are sometimes referred to as "off time" grandparents. Do you feel old if you are a grandparent at 35? Or young if you hold your first grandchild at age 87?

Research is just beginning to look at grandparenting.

A review of citations of grandparenting studies since 1985 found only 25 citations --for a role occupied by most older individuals. How does this role relate to aging? Does it affect well-being? Is it weakening? What happens to grandparents who suddenly become surrogate parents for their grandchildren? The questions outnumber the answers.

Katrina W. Johnson, Ph.D.
Behavioral and Social Research
National Institute on Aging
301-402-4156 (phone)
301-402-0051 (FAX)
Katrina_Johnson@NIH.GOV

s:\ssr\grand.pa\grndpa.fct
2/25/95

BEST COPY AVAILABLE